/140 cont./

231/439 Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable that they place importance above all on the possession of mares. The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the degenerate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá; steer = toló, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover, on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally 231 crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or pet names are not used.

233 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses 422 graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40 231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small number of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion [554] becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs, and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there. [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors; they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated fields.

/141 cont./

231 Every member of the family knows every head of its herd
233 of livestock, and the men every head of the large livestock of
● 422 the entire village. Nevertheless, marks of ownership are used, which, for the horses, consist of branding irons with the first initial of the owner, such as are used by the colonists and may be bought there. The cattle have as marks of ownership small cuts in their ears in the form of a triangle, square, or semicircle, or a corresponding piercing of the ears. Pigs and sheep have the same marks of ownership in their ears.

231 Sheep (písa) are kept chiefly for their wool, though they
236 are also eaten. The total stock of the village, however, is so
[262] small that only every third family on the average owns one or
[422] two sheep. The other families must obtain the wool they need
[437] from the sheep owners in exchange for other things (see under "Trade and Transportation" /see p. 92 /). /142/ Pigs (čúče)
231 are greatly coveted because of their meat, but there are not
[422] enough of them so that every family can own one, only about every second family. Like all the other domestic animals, they roam about freely in the vicinity of the farmyard and must forage for their food. They are prevented from getting into the fenced fields by having a frame made of three sticks hung around their necks.

[343] Stalls for the animals or regular and special feeding or
[232] care are unknown. The owner puts rock salt in the pasture areas for the cattle and horses every Sunday. Occasionally scraps of arracacha or maize are thrown in front of the house for the pigs, which must then forage for them. Chickens (átaly; rooster = atalyepítste, chick = atalyelúčkwe) are now and then fed with
235 maize or peck at the arracacha lying about in the dwelling. To feed baby chicks the woman chews some maize and spits out the
[685] mash for them. Every family has a few chickens, but their number does not grow large because foxes and neighbors are always
[422] stealing those wandering free. Hence the average figure remains
231 at only two to three chickens and a rooster per family. In many
262 houses guinea pigs (fits) run about, living on refuse from the kitchen and, when roasted, prized as a delicacy.

/193 cont./

585 help. Since the young men almost never own their own cattle, [422] they must earn the purchase price for this by the sale of agricul- [432] tural products. Wheat is usually chosen for this, since it may be [243] harvested half a year after sowing.

For the wedding celebration about 50 men and women are 585 invited, not only relatives, but also friends, among them the 608 sponsors (padrino, madrina) required for the church marriage service. They sit with the bridal couple (nikálo). The parents [291] and guests on both sides arrange themselves informally. The [431] padrino and madrina must give or loan the bridegroom and bride [426] new clothes for this wedding day, but they differ from the ordinary [301] everyday clothing only in that they are newer and cleaner. No 585 special /194/ ornaments of any kind are put on by anyone. The wedding is celebrated in such a way that the church service takes place in the morning, after which the guests go to the wedding house accompanied by music and have a small midday meal, with which, however, only a little chicha is drunk. The festival ox is not yet slaughtered on this day, and not until the "actual" (as the Calderun say) wedding celebration, which takes place about a month later in the house of the bridegroom. The ox is slaughtered in the morning, and in the afternoon the guests arrive, sit down together informally, and eat and drink chicha and brandy copiously. [533] Music is played for this, but no one dances to it. Before the eating [535] begins, when all are still sober, the padrino makes a speech addressed to the bride and groom, in which he says approximately the following: You are now husband and wife, and you, as the husband, should not beat your wife, and you, as wife, should not use any bad words toward your husband. The husband should also not speak ill of his wife, and the wife should obey if the husband commands her to do something and should help him in all things! Then he takes the hand of the bride and gives it to the mother of the bridegroom, who speaks to the bride as follows: You have now been taken into our family and you are to work for your husband and cook his meals for him and make his clothes and arrange everything for him; in addition, you must help me in the house and carry out my instructions, as well as

/211 cont./

423 to the father, and the next year the son must ask his father anew
427 for permission to use another piece of land.

593
241 Besides the land, the father of the family also owns the
422 dwelling, the menstruation house, all the animals -- including
423 chickens and guinea pigs -- all agricultural implements, and the sugar mill. Property marks on the houses, fields, and implements are not required, for everyone knows to whom they belong.

428 Upon the death of the father of the family, the youngest son inherits his house and the greater part of the livestock. If, for example, there is only one cow, he gets it. Similarly, he gets all the land under cultivation at the time. The uncultivated land is divided equally among all the sons. The widow, [768] like the daughters, inherits nothing. The former then continues to live in her old house in the family of the youngest son. The fact that the latter receives so much more than the older ones in the distribution of the inheritance is explained by the fact that the older ones have worked for more years and therefore have had more time and opportunity to acquire property of their own. [429] Favoring the youngest thus represents a certain equalization. If the father dies /212/ young and leaves only a small son, his mother administers his property for him until he is about 15 years [768] old. He need not marry then, however. If there are several younger sons, they, of course, also go on living together in the house of the father.

Deviant inheritance plans of the deceased, for example, letting an older favorite son have more or leaving his house or implements, not to his youngest son, but to his brother, are not possible. Even if a father had ten daughters and only one son and none of the daughters would marry, he could not leave them anything. In such a case, the only son would have to provide for all his sisters, for women cannot live alone in a house and they would not be in a position to cultivate the land alone. If a man has no sons, but only daughters, his sons-in-law generally help him cultivate the fields. Yet he cannot bequeath them anything. His landed property and equipment go to that one of his brothers who takes care of the burial, that is to say, buys the grave clothes for the deceased and provides chicha and food for the mourning

/321 cont./

231 [796] [533] The slaughtering of the head of cattle for consumption at religious fiestas is accompanied by music (1).

1. Bernal Villa, S. "La Fiesta de San Juan en Calderas, Tierradentro /The Fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," p. 208.

[232] Of the equine livestock, they also prefer the females for 492 484 [249] reproduction. Horses are used for the milling of sugar cane, for the transport of loads, for long journeys. Many own saddles, /322/ [482] [562] although generally deteriorated ones. Women never ride on horseback. On long journeys the woman walks with a heavy load on her back, while the man rides without carrying anything to hinder him.

231 [754] [789] The horses of the Páez are small, but very hardy and suitable for the rugged and difficult roads. They do not own mules or donkeys. In Calderas it is said that someone brought a donkey for the purpose of producing young mules, but the envious ones (sorcerers) cast a spell on it and killed it. Nor do they own goats, which they regard as very thievish and destructive.

In the houses they raise guinea pigs, chickens, and turkeys, and, on a smaller scale, ducks. Furthermore, dogs, [422] cats, and hogs are also raised. The former belong indifferently to men or women, while hogs and dogs are the exclusive property of the men.

The scant care given to domestic animals is worthy of note. There are no corrals of any sort, nor special caretakers [233] for the animals. Cattle are commonly left to fend for themselves in the pastures, and only every 15 days, or, more frequently, once a month, are they rounded up by their respective owners to [232] check on their existence or multiplication. They know about the need to give salt to cattle, but this article is supplied in small quantities and at very long intervals. Most of the animals of Calderas go to a small spring of brackish water in Tumbichukue. Among the other domestic animals, only the chickens, turkeys, and guinea pigs are fed regularly with grass, maize, manioc, and

/324 cont./

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MOSOCO:

Fams.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	2	$ 500,00	11	$ 1.900,00	2	$ 200,00	15	$ 300,00	9	$ 45,00
2.	..	.....	3	550,00	1	100,00	..	.....	10	20,00
3.	..	.....	3	600,00	2	160,00	10	200,00	15	75,00
4.	8	2.850,00	5	900,00	1	60,00	..	.....	7	35,00
5.	..	.....	1	170,00	1	15,00	2	25,00	6	18,00
6.	4	1.400,00	4	1.200,00	1	30,00	..	.....	2	10,00
7.	8	1.360,00	12	1.730,00	5	260,00	4	60,00	12	72,00
8.	6	2.400,00	3	600,00	..	.....	2	30,00	5	30,00
9.	6	1.200,00	2	700,00	9	120,00	20	300,00	20	80,00
10.	..	.....	3	500,00	3	30,00	..	.....	17	102,00
11.	26	4.300,00 (23)	10	2.700,00	1	10,00	15	150,00	14	42,00
12.	6	750,00	3	470,00	1	15,00	9	240,00	8	24,00
13.	14	2.670,00	11	2.850,00	1	30,00	..	.....	6	30,00
14.	1	300,00	2	600,00	1	15,00	14	210,00	8	48,00
15.	15	2.500,00	6	2.000,00	2	45,00	..	.....	8	48,00
16.	8	1.600,00	4	600,00	..	.....	8	30,00	12	60,00
17.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
18.	11	2.300,00	6	1.350,00	2	100,00	12	600,00	25	75,00
19.	3	600,00	3	1.200,00	1	60,00	4	200,00	10	60,00
20.	7	900,00	4	2.000,00	..	.....	..	.....	4	20,00
21.	18	4.300,00	5	1.200,00	2	300,00	..	.....	13	65,00
22.	..	.....	6	900,00	..	.....	..	.....	2	10,00
23.	6	900,00	4	650,00	2	50,00	..	.....	8	40,00
24.	3	450,00	2	300,00	2	250,00	10	200,00	4	40,00
25.°	20	5.000,00	2	2.000,00	2	100,00	10	500,00	16	80,00

/The commas in the figures in these tables should be read as points in the translation to English./

23. Belong to four brothers.

/325/

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LANE:

Farms.	Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
1.°	..	.....	7	1.500,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
2.	..	.....	2	200,00	7	385,00	5	80,00	15	60,00
3.	3	755,00	6	950,00	..	.....	6	180,00	8	32,00
4.°	30	1.500,00	12	2.100,00	..	.....	..	.....	30	40,00
5.	5	300,00	6	600,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
6.	2	250,00	2	260,00	5	65,00	3	48,00	5	25,00
7.	5	500,00	6	800,00	3	90,00	5	50,00	10	50,00
8.	2	200,00	3	250,00	4	56,00	3	45,00	2	8,00

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	25	7.000,00	8	1.700,00	5	200,00	..	.....	25	115,00
2.	..	.....	1	120,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	30,00
3.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	36,00
4.	1	300,00	..	.....	3	60,00	2	30,00	5	25,00
5.	..	.....	2	300,00	2	60,00	2	60,00	6	24,00
6.	..	.....	..	.....	3	200,00	..	.....	6	30,00
7.	..	..... (34)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	7	28,00
8.	5	1.250,00	3	300,00	5	80,00	3	30,00	10	30,00
9.	4	800,00	..	.....	3	140,00	..	.....	40	120,00
10.°	..	.....	2	320,00	..	.....	..	.....	14	70,00
11.	..	.....	3	450,00	2	30,00	..	.....	25	75,000
12.	..	..... (34)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....
13.	..	..... (34)	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	25,00
14.°	5	2.000,00	1	400,00	6	320,00	5	150,00	25	120,00
15.°	10	4.000,00	6	1.200,00	3	300,00	..	.....	60	300,00

CALDERAS:

1.	1	120,00	1	150,00	2	70,00	..	.....	1	6,00
2.	3	300,00	2	300,00	4	80,00	..	.....	8 !	40,00
3.	..	.....	..	.....	1	40,00	..	.....	20 !	50,00
4.	..	.....	4	600,00	5	300,00	3 !	30,00	6 !	30,00
5.	..	.....	..	.....	3	30,00	..	.....	1	5,00
6.	4	400,00	3	300,00	8	240,00	5	100,00	10	50,00
7.	..	.....	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	6	30,00
8.	4	320,00	5	300,00	5 !	150,00	10	100,00	8 !	40,00
9.	4 !	400,00	2	200,00	6	80,00	2	20,00	5	25,00
10.	30	1.500,00	10	1.000,00	30	240,00	3 !	30,00	..	.....
11.	..	.....	5	600,00	3	60,00	2	20,00	4	24,00
12.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
13.	..	.....	3	300,00	..	.....	3	30,00	3	30,00
14.	..	.....	5	600,00	6 !	80,00	6	90,00	6 !	30,00
15.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4	80,00	4	24,00
16.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6 !	30,00
17.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	3	30,00	8 !	40,00
18.	..	.....	4	320,00	4	80,00	..	.....	3	36,00
19.	..	.....	3	250,00	..	.....	..	.....	7	28,00

24. Tenant farmer.

! Estimates by the author.

/326/ [calderas]

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Farms.		Bovines		Equines		Pigs		Wool-bearers		Fowl Raised	
20.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	5	100,00	2		30,00
21.	..	.....	..	.....	3	60,00	..	.....	3		36,00
22.	..	.....	3	220,00	4	! 80,00	..	.....	8	!	48,00
23.	3	300,00	2	160,00	4	! 80,00	4	! 80,00	..		.....
24.	5	500,00	1	100,00	..	.....	2	40,00	15		90,00
25.	3	300,00	1	100,00	3	90,00	..	.....	..		.....
26.	3	300,00	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	..		.....
27.	..	.....	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	13		65,00
28.	..	.....	1	70,00	..	.....	..	.....	1		5,00
29.	..	.....	4	280,00	..	.....	..	.....	8	!	48,00
30.	1	100,00	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	8	!	56,00
31.	5	500,00	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	!	54,00
32.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	1		6,00
33.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	..		.....
34.	8	800,00	5	350,00	10	! 200,00	4	80,00	10	!	50,00
35.	..	.....	4	320,00	..	.....	..	.....	10		50,00
36.	15	1.500,00	5	! 350,00	..	.....	20	400,00	..		.....
37.	4	400,00	4	400,00	..	.....	10	200,00	10	!	50,00
38.	..	.....	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	5	!	25,00
39.	..	.....	1	100,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	!	30,00
40.	2	200,00	..	.....	2	40,00	..	.....	..		.....
41.	..	.....	2	220,00	..	.....	..	.....	5		25,00
42.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	..	.....	..		.....
43.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	6	!	35,00
44.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	3	60,00	..		.....
45.	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	3	60,00	6	!	35,00
46.	4	400,00	..	.....	..	.....	..	.....	4		20,00
47.	..	.....	3	240,00	2	40,00	..	.....	..		.....
48.	..	.....	5	400,00	1	20,00	..	.....	9		35,00
49.	3	300,00	2	160,00	10	! 200,00	..	.....	10	!	60,00
50.	4	400,00	3	240,00	6	120,00	..	.....	10	!	35,00
51.	..	.....	1	80,00	..	.....	1	20,00	6	!	30,00
52.	..	.....	3	240,00	..	.....	..	.....	6	!	30,00
53.	1	100,00	2	160,00	..	.....	3	60,00	4		20,00
54.	3	300,00	2	200,00	3	! 60,00	3	! 60,00	..		.....
55.	..	.....	4	320,00	..	.....	2	40,00	8	!	24,00

! Estimates by the author.

/336 cont./

423 623 428 no rights over land won by the sweat of the brow. It is inherited directly by the sons. In such cases the cabildo confirms ownership by issuing the respective adjudication.

423 578 When the colonization has been done by several persons, usually brothers, and the division of the land does not satisfy one of the parties, famous litigations take place that eat up the small savings of the families. The feeling for ownership of land is highly developed among the natives, and the usurpation of the slightest piece of ground gives rise to quarrels, enmities, and litigations. The sale of land to "whites" is prohibited by Colombian law and by the consuetudinary law of the natives. But among the natives themselves transactions can be made with immovables. They do not sell the land, but the ownership. The owner of land is the man. A widow, too, can be an owner by inheritance from the husband. Single women do not own land.

42 [648]

● 422 The bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock belong to the man, although a few women own pigs and sheep. Turkeys, chickens, cats, and guinea pigs belong to the women, and so do dishes, spoons, pots, grinding stones, calabashes, and bags. These are inherited through the female line. Children are owners merely of their own clothes.

[428]

423 Concerning communal property, we have already seen that in each parcialidad there are several hectares of land that belong to all the members of the parcialidad. Also regarded as communal property are public works, such as roads, bridges, the main ditches, the house of the cabildo, and the church, and they collectively maintain them; likewise regarded as the property of the parcialidad are the sums of money collected for the church, the produce of the clearing of the saint, and any livestock or mills that it might own.

[794]

428 Concerning inheritance, let us look first at the concepts expressed by an informant from Calderas. Asked about the ideal number of children for native families, he replied that everyone wished to have many children. "When one dies and one has land, who can handle it? The ancestors worked the montaña, and this is why we have land. We are five brothers and we work

[842]

Average Distribution of Agricultural Implements per Family

Parcialidad (26)	Machetes T	Machetes P	Shovels T	Shovels P	Small bars T	Small bars P	Axes T	Axes P	Spades T	Spades P	Bars T	Bars P
Mosoco	71	2	85	3	50	2	39	1	3	-	13	-
Lame	16	2	26	3	12	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
San Andrés . . .	37	2	42	2	18	1	9	-	-	-	3	-

26. Note: T indicates the total implements of the families investigated. P indicates the average number of implements for each family.

/338 cont./

412 422 [162] Bearing in mind that of the 48 families investigated, 52% are from Mosoco, 16.6% from Lame, and 31.2% from San Andrés, we can make the following deductions: The average /339/ number of machetes owned by each family in the three parcialidades is two. This indicates the universality of this implement.

Implements for working the land are more numerous in Mosoco and Lame than in San Andrés, especially in the former, where shovels almost reach 4 and the small bars 2 per family. This is explained by the fact that in those parcialidades they do not need to clear the lands, but only raise the beds in the pastures.

[423] [311] The number of axes for each family in Mosoco is almost double. The reason for this is that almost all the families own land in the mountainous part called "paramo." The clearing of wooded areas is intensive in Mosoco because they still exist. In San Andrés and Lame, virgin montañas have almost disappeared.

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6: Bernal Villa--66 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

Average Distribution of Domestic Animals per Family

Parcialidad	Bovines				Equines				Swine				Wool-bearers				Fowl Raised			
	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%	T	P	B	%
Mesoco	171	6	22	12,9	113	4	13	11,5	42	1	4	9,5	130	5	25	19,2	243	8	25	10,3
Lamo	32	4	10	31,3	44	5	19	43,1	19	2	—	—	21	2	—	—	50	6	10	20,0
San Andrés	60	4	50	83,3	27	1	19	70,3	28	1	14	50,0	13	—	5	41,6	221	16	135	53,7
Calderas	98	1	—	—	114	2	—	—	107	2	—	—	97	1	—	—	271	4	—	—

Note: T indicates the total animals of the families investigated.

P indicates the average number of animals for each family investigated.

B indicates the number of animals for the "white" families.

% indicates the percentage of the total animals that is owned by the "whites."

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points for the translation to English./

6: Bernal Villa--67 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/341/

422 For each native family in the three parcialidades and in
23 their respective order, there is on the average the following animals: Bovines, six, three, and one; equines, four, six, zero; swine, one, three, one; wool-bearers, four, three, zero; fowl raised, ten, six, fifteen. In Calderas this is what is given in the table.

23 It is obvious that livestock-raising in Mosoco is an authentic native industry, with the implication of a relative technical improvement in it. Whereas, in the other three parcialidades, it is of no special importance, especially in Calderas. The live-
[563] stock industry in San Andrés is the exclusive patrimony of whites and mestizos.

466 /346 cont./
427 needs it (nominal). On the following week he must return to
257 work at the hacienda.
[461] /347/ Each week he produces some 40 arrobas of panela.
[433] The informant boils it down, his wife mills with the deaf and dumb son, and the other son strips the cane. The milling
● [422] equipment is expensive and thus belongs to the hacienda. His own tools are two shovels, one small bar, and three machetes, with which he works for the hacienda. The owner of the hacienda has tried to dismiss him three times. Once because he made panela for another owner; it displeases the owner to have him work elsewhere, especially at a mill. The informant did not want to leave his house.

427 The plantings that he has made have sometimes been
241 lost because of the wetness of the soil, leaving no solution but
466 to plant again. The owner does not help at all in such calamities. He has the right to plant as much as he wishes.
[423] Now he owns about 200 coffee trees, but the owner has forbidden him to plant more trees.

427 The informant has seven children, five of whom are females;
465 three of them earn a peso a day working on the hacienda, harvest-
466 ing and weeding coffee. One who is younger earns 50 centavos, and the son pays land rent and earns a daily wage of two pesos. The owner is not honest. To pay the daily wages he usually takes out bills of ten or twenty pesos and sends one of the peons to exchange them for smaller currency, which is always short when it is received. He pays in part and later maintains that the total was met.

Another informant from the same hacienda says that for two years of vaquería (tending cattle) the owner gave him in payment for his labor one mare that is not worth 30 pesos. While doing this work he suffered hunger and worked too hard. Now, aside from having remunerated him very badly, he demands the payment of rent for the two years that he was engaged in this work.

In general terms, the tenant farmers of San Andrés, in exchange for the use of half a hectare of land, one garden, and one house, are obliged: to pay three days of rent per month, providing their own food; to work as day laborers for the hacienda,

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list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.